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easy for *Sxaiaxwax* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. IX.

Although *Sxaiaxwax* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old.

Less feared than *Sxaiaxwax*, because he appears less frequently, is *Allät·iaitl*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit.[1] The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nusmät·a*.

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nusmät·a*, is *Sä·lma*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Sä·lma* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner.

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually

[1] See vol. I, pp. 96-7.

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and leapt away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an olachen net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ăltakān·i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ăltakān·i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwalās*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Ălläl·ialul* (I, p. 49), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature:

Kwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Pes*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Kwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Kwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Kwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

Kwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Alquntăm* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[a] ascends

[a] Kumstoods, see vol. I, p. 94.

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to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body.* Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

"Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

*There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily:

"No, you are not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house."

Disgusted at this reception, *O-mistimai* obeyed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tattoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was really his son. He called on him to return, but *O-mistimai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death.

The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief.

One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, beneficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella Coola River."

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone

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"This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon were sent down by *Algaiatsa* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year both by *Nusiłyaxa* and *Winaxiwa*.

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at the back of the neck; this is called *nulkkiriie* by the Bella Coola and it is thought to be especially important since the spirit (I, p. 94) is located there. Somewhat discouraged by his lack of success, Raven sat holding his head in his hands, pondering. Finally, he decided that he would have to visit *Mlkkuma*, the land of the salmon far beyond the western ocean.

His self-propelling canoe, *Tsknkl*, was soon made ready and Raven invited Mouse, a young woman, to accompany him. The two travelled without incident till they came to the flat land where the salmon had their homes. On the beach were myriads of canoes, each in reality the skin of a sockeye salmon. Raven had instructed Mouse to remain in his canoe, so when the sockeye salmon chief invited the two to his house only Raven accepted, though Mouse was urged most courteously to accompany him. Raven was conducted to the house, where his host threw his own daughter into the river. She changed into a sockeye salmon and swam to the beach; some of her father's servants cut her up and brought her to the house where she was cooked. The meal was set before the guest whom the chief instructed not to eat any of the bones. As he ate, Raven examined the salmon very carefully to see what had been lacking in his model, and soon discovered it to be the thin bone, shaped like a maple leaf, at the back of the neck. Seizing an opportunity when no one was looking, Raven secreted this bone against the palate of his mouth. When the meal was over and the guest had tied what was left of the food into a mat, someone collected all the bones and threw them into the river. Forthwith they became a sockeye salmon, which swam towards the shore. But after an instant, the fish began to behave peculiarly, swimming around madly in circles, and jumping in an aimless manner. Everyone agreed that a bone must have been lost, and they searched the house for it without success. They also examined Raven. Finally, one man thought of investigating the guest's mouth where they found the missing bone.

"Oh," said Raven, lying: "I did not know it was there."

As soon as the bone was thrown into the river the sockeye salmon became normal and swam quietly to the beach where it changed into the chief's daughter once more.

When the time came to leave, Raven asked the chief to tell his daughter to take his bundle of food to his canoe for him. Meanwhile Mouse had carried out Raven's instructions, which were to gnaw a hole in each of the sockeye salmon canoes. Raven entered *Tsknkl* before taking the parcel from the girl, and as he stepped in, the canoe was forced a little distance from the land so that she waded into the water to hand it to him. As she did so, he backed his canoe further out until

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded.

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped.

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes.

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness,

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of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *xix-mānoăs*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *siut*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Ălquntām* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has become inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *silk*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Ălquntăm* for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Ălquntăm* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition

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becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter. They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it. The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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cases it tarries near the corpse for four days, or it may start at once on its travels. Distance means nothing to it, nor does time; once disembodied it goes back on the path of its late owner's ancestors from generation to generation, until it reaches the spot where his first forefather came to this earth. Here it assumes the bird or animal form used on that occasion and goes up to *Nusmät·a*. It is uncertain whether or not the spirit can take on, simultaneously, the different shapes used by various ancestors of the deceased. Its existence in the land above is similar to that on earth, but in an advanced degree. A good carpenter, for example, is a better carpenter after death; a chief is a greater chief; and one of the explanations for death is that *Älquntäm* has called a man to continue his work in another sphere. *Nusmät·a* is so huge that it is never crowded, though the spirits are immortal. They can see what is taking place on earth and sometimes return in bird or animal form to visit and comfort their grieving relatives. Powerful chiefs delight to display this, by means of a masked figure, as the central feature of a potlatch. Apart from this ceremonial usage, disembodied spirits play no part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They take no interest in human beings and accordingly are neither supplicated nor feared.

THE LIFE

Closely associated with the spirit is the *sxʷxʷmänoäs lkl*ᵉ, life.[28] As in the previous case, *Älquntäm* provides every human being and every animal with this at birth. It is an ethereal substance, having the form of the body which it animates; without it there can be neither strength nor growth; without life the body is an inert mass of flesh. As a person becomes older, so does this element grow, always taking the exact shape and form of the body. Alone, it can neither move nor think, its motive power being the spirit. It is the life that suffers

[28] Interpretations have been employed whenever possible to lessen the use of confusing native terms. *Life* is not an accurate translation of this Bella Coola word, but it is hoped that the reader will grasp its real significance from the description in this section.

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761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dan- [752] gerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible [827] lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and is in many cases fatal.

761 761 774 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the supernatural beings in *Nusmät·a* to greet *Älquntäm*. It is common knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above, its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to escape the heat of *Älquntäm*'s entry, he will die. By dreams 761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative, 787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Älquntäm* and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends. [182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising, nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

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nection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine. 761

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nusmät·a*. 761 775 [774]

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters [827] [825] [539]

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Ätquntäm* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 720). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[846] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a
[171] house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

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764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. [766] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe·tła* [533] song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule 537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to [775] *Alquntăm*, under the name of *Smaialotła*, to take pains that [773] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nusmăt·a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787*

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *ɬxin·abālawadjutlaix*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [224] [226]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(*a*) *T̈litcāplilān·a* or some other supernatural being.

(*b*) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [177]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

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778 the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from 755 the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and * [787] hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady [785] will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one 756 or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is * 787 there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

* 787 The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The [774] Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today [159] state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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Kill a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and leave them hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then tie them around the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break the string. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the house. On this same day, another squirrel must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The child wears these in the same way for four days, when they too are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. When the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are left suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the killing of the first animal, when the father takes them to the forest and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where no water can penetrate and where they will dry and keep indefinitely. 825 789 856

This causes the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with agility so that he can scale even precipitous mountains. This medicine is frequently used in conjunction with one for hunting ability.

To Cause Easy Delivery [843]

Place the foetus of a porcupine against the back of a girl's neck and allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and let it fall again. This is repeated four times while the person says:

"Please, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

This medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cause Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been shot, a lad who wishes to make himself brave approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dying animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs his hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the seat [774]

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825 789 856 [774] of the spirit, which imparts to himself the courage and strength of the animal he has just slain.

(2) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, the bloody pelt is wrapped around a lad whose parents wish him to be brave. He is lashed in securely and the bundle, attached to a long rope, is thrown into the rapids. After a few minutes, it is drawn ashore, but immediately thrown in again. This is repeated four times. This medicine causes the child to have the courage of a grizzly bear. It is said that the first youth to whom this was applied rescued his mother from slavery among the Tsimshian.

This treatment is usually applied to boys of from three to five years of age.

(3) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, two lads, whose parents wish them to be brave, are called. They are told to crouch on their hands and knees and while in this position the pelt is thrown over their backs. They crawl to and fro for a few minutes while dogs are encouraged to bark and growl at the "animal." The skin is then removed and the two sent to wash in the river. They are called back and the whole rite repeated a second time, followed by a third and a fourth application, with washing in every case. This gives them the bravery of grizzly bears.

This medicine can be used at any time before the holding of sexual intercourse.

(4) When an octopus has been killed, a lad is placed within the freshly removed skin. Those present say:

"Please, may he be like you, afraid of nothing."

The skin is removed and the lad sent to wash in the river. The rite is repeated four times which gives him the bravery of an octopus. Like the last, this medicine is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse.

To Cause Ability in River Work

Fasten a boy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw the bundle into the river. Lift it out when it has gone

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Preventive and Curative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy and Childhood

789 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

774 (1) As already described (I, p. 96), there is always danger of a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing involuntary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are 843 825 especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to post- [846] pone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

843 825 789 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is [846] steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will [761] die during infancy, though the means by which the slain ani- [774] mals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

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539 754 except an infant daughter. She grew up, married, and was the mother of the old Bella Coola, about seventy years of age in 1923, who is so loathed as a sorcerer. It is he who has the collection of spittle, and it is believed that, like his grandfather, he is the owner of a skinned and stuffed left hand with which he can kill a man as surely as with a rifle.

THE DISCOVERY OF TWO SORCERERS

Many years ago there lived at *Stuie* two young men who were constant companions; they always hunted and travelled together, and were determined to share each other's fortune, no matter what it might be. One day they agreed to go up the valley to visit some friends, but decided to postpone their departure until dusk. One of the two went out for a short walk and failed to return at the time appointed; his comrade sought him everywhere and finally hurried off up the trail, thinking that his friend must have started before him. He soon heard sounds of laboured breathing as if people were carrying a heavy burden, and could just distinguish two men carrying a coffin on poles between them. He realized that they must be sorcerers and that their inability to turn around would give him an advantage. Stealing up behind them, he pushed the rear man, not only causing him to stumble, but the one in front as well, since their burden was resting between them. Neither could turn around to see who had discovered them, and they became more and more terrified as the brave youth first pushed, and then pulled the one in the rear. [774] Suddenly he called out, *wa-*, so loudly in their ears that the sudden start expelled their spirits and they fell to earth as if dead. The lad watched their gradual recovery, feeling confident that his partner must be within ear-shot and would come hurrying back to his assistance if necessary. As soon as the sorcerers had revived, one of them said angrily to the boy:

"You will die presently."

"No," he answered. "It is you who are in grave peril."

At this point he called loudly for his companion who was so far ahead that he could barely hear the other's voice; he answered the shout and began to run back. The sorcerers, trying to make the best of a bad situation, mocked him by advising him to call again and to bring more helpers if he wanted to escape death. When his friend had come so close that he could see what was taking place, the youth called out to him:

"Partner! They say that I am in danger."

"No," the other answered. "It is they who will die."

When he joined the group the four began to discuss what was to be done. The sorcerers begged their discoverers not to expose their mis-

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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It is believed that if a non-
575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784 has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
620] person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukwiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kwiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[620 The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784 Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
620] the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts
[778] differ as to what results from the transgression. According to one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kwiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukwiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784 become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *hahaiai* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *hahaiai* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *hahaiai*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *hahaiai* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nuxmit a* prior to the entry of *Alquntam*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *hahaiai* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nuxmit a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Alquntam* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *hahaiai* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

through the motion of throwing it to his partner; the crystal disappears! It has been palmed out of sight at the instant of throwing, but the presumption is that it has entered the other *sîkî* who falls to the floor as if stricken down by the powerful object given to him. Now one of the *ânâxsiut*, who has been primed for the duty, strikes the recumbent man on the back, restoring him to consciousness. Slowly he pulls himself together, rising at intervals as if crushed beneath a heavy weight, and writhes until he finally produces a rock crystal from his stomach, as if it had been thrown to him. In reality it is his own which he has carried concealed from the beginning of the ceremony. He pretends to throw this to X, often so realistically that the novice blinks, expecting some object to strike him. All this time a *ânâxsiut*, it does not matter who, has been drinking water at intervals and spitting it out over the face of X, "to strengthen him." When X has received the stone, the beating on the floor-boards, stilled during the transference of the crystal, breaks out again with full din. After a short interval the first *sîkî* stops the noise, goes through the same contortions and produces, apparently from his stomach, another rock crystal, which as before he throws across to his partner who falls down, and later passes it to X. Again the beating on the floor is started. The same ritual is carried out until four, or sometimes only two, rock crystals have been given to X. Then the procedure is reversed. The second *sîkî* goes to the novice and after much contortion draws from his stomach one of the crystals, which he pretends to throw back to his partner. As the latter makes the motion of catching it, he produces his own crystal which he, so it seems, forces into his own body. This is done for all the crystals (see Plate 4). At this juncture the uninitiated are told to leave.

One of the *sîkî* now kneads the back of X's neck and goes through the motions of pulling something from it. The frightened youth realizes that his spirit is being drawn from him and his terror, great in any case, is not lessened by the *sîkî* taking it in his cupped hands to the fire where he scoops up

[See category 116, p84(b) - ANALYST]

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some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that the *siti* has altered it from that of an uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.* The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siti* is tremendous.

The first *siti* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siti* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

"Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kukusiut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is its patron, and the locality of its repository. X sometimes re-

*This part of the rite has been continued for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

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attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qotlum* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

Alquntăm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noăkxnum* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaien·a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noăkxnum* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[11] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noăkxnum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noăkxnum* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *[mălundjutqwlsan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

[11] *Noăkxnum* is accordingly often called *Nuthlumm*.

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ɛlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some ɛlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The ɛlaqō'tla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

The Ō'lɛq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tia (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'lɛq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlɛq and the Dā'tia must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'siūt, for instance when the ɛlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kū'siūt are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tɛnum, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qē'mtsiɔs and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Masmasalā'niq and his fellows, the raven and the Nusqē'mta, and many others.

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro-

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773 [171] what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sōnq*, sun). 773 The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tāat'au. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulas: 776 *Atlkun ūtlō'tlsuq, Tāat'au*, 'Look on us where we are going, Tāat'au;' and *Tāat'au, atlknallnomdō'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tāat'au.' [782] [539] Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalā'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalā'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapē'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalā'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalā'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqē'mta* (*nu-ta*=place of, *sqēm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqē'mta* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqē'mta*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalā'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapē'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalā'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalā'niq and his brothers still continue [176] to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalā'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 [826] [76] [756] The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ē'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilquła can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *snak*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

Wars.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their

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to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the Elaxō'la dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'ā'lpsta (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of BaxbakuālanuXsi'wasē of the Kwakiutl. Some Elaxō'la do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The Elaxō'la has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

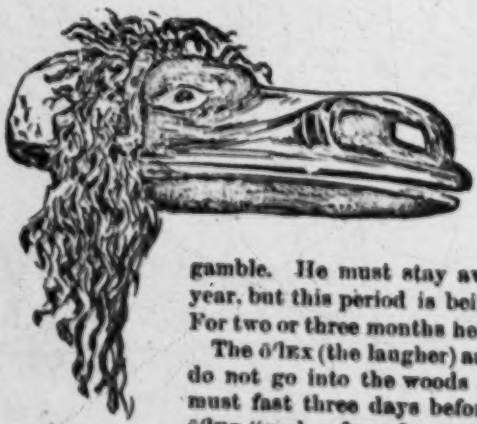

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA.
Bil'xula.
Cat. No. 75320, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lex (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lex "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lex and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when the Elaxō'la gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around